

# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Sixth Year of Issue

March, 1947

FILM REVIEW

EDITORIALS

RECORDINGS

## Taxation of Co-operatives

RALPH S. STAPLES



## Alignment of Parties

F. R. SCOTT



## Tour of Europe

ALBERT A. SHEA

Scoptimism—An Open Letter  
J. D. KETCHUM

Turning New Leaves  
NORTHOP FRYE

Vol. XXVI, No. 314

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## O CANADA

According to a spokesman from MD 2, at Oakville, the reason for the cut in strength was caused by the raising of the age limit from 12 to 14 years. Formerly, it was stated, the prime aim of the cadets organization was to train youths in the proper functions of good citizenship. Under the new scheme, the idea of training will be to fit the boys so that they may become members of Canada's Reserve Army upon the completion of the schooling. (Globe and Mail)

Among those fool's-gold words which led to these situations in Europe, the following have been much bandied about in Canada: "Full employment," "planning," "social security," and "freedom from want." The facts of life are that none of these things can be secured as conscious objects of government policy without losing more precious things. (Wellington Jeffers in The Globe and Mail)

**AS COLLECTIVISM ADVANCES, MANKIND GOES DEEPER INTO DISORDER AND DISUNION AND MUST BE RESISTED BY ALL WHO WANT A BETTER WORLD.**

(Headline on Wellington Jeffers' column in Globe and Mail)

The early pioneers in this country, the French who are so proud of their race, their speech and their religion, and our English and Scottish ancestors endured all the hardships of those early days and helped to create this great country, and I think we owe it to them to make sure that future generations in this country will be predominantly white and predominantly British.

(J. L. Gibson (Comox-Alberni) in Hansard,  
Vol. LXXXVI—No. 9, February 11, 1947)

At the Bank of Toronto luncheon yesterday—and, by the way, the resumption of that annual affair is one of the best evidences of reconversion I know—another executive who has remained in Canada gave it as his opinion that, differences in salary aside, all his friends who have chosen to remain in Canada have fared well.

(Wellington Jeffers in The Globe and Mail)

Socialism has struck Great Britain . . . British business men . . . feel the Socialists will be returned, but with a smaller majority. Five years later they will be defeated. In the meantime, banks, railroads, mines, docks and heaven knows what other industries will have been taken over. What good will a sane system of government be then? . . . Obviously it will be impossible to restore these nationalized industries to their original owners. Remember Chamberlain. In 1939 he said: "If this is war, it will be the end of civilization as we know it." (Richard G. Lewis in Canadian Broadcaster)

He questioned the emphasis on social security stressed by many groups, and suggested it would be to the greater benefit of the country to expend money for such projects as irrigation which would prove of more benefit to the country in the long run.

(C. Gordon Cockshutt, president Canadian Chamber of Commerce, in address to Ottawa Board of Trade, as reported by The Canadian Press)

Opinions of presidents of home and school associations and students' councils, representing a cross section of the city's schools, can be summed up: "It's high time teachers stopped smoking in the boiler rooms. We all know they smoke during school hours. Why not provide them rooms and let the whole thing be above-board."

(Globe and Mail)

California coat and suit fashions gave the lead to the Canadian house that turned out this St. Regis Room collection. You can see the clever fashion hand of California in the newsworthy jackets of the suits . . . you can "feel" California when you slip into the bulky top coat. (Advertisement, Globe and Mail)

To the Canadian Travel Bureau in Ottawa came a worried letter from a Michigan resident who had read of Premier Maurice Duplessis' all-out campaign against Jehovah's Witnesses. The letter writer, who was planning a Canadian tour, asked: "Is it safe for a Protestant to travel in Quebec?" (Time)

This month's prize of a six months' subscription goes to Joseph McCulley, Newmarket, Ont. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

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# THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## Economic Consequences of Mr. King

The pattern of decontrol is being clarified as the second session of this parliament proceeds. The method which the government is adopting, the transformation of orders-in-council into acts of parliament, has the virtue of showing more clearly the advantages of the former method, arbitrary though it often seemed. About fifteen bills are to be introduced, each of them embodying a control order with amendments, which in all cases but one will be relaxations. These will comprise the "permanent" controls. Before that, an omnibus "Continuation of Transitional Measures Bill" is being proposed, incorporating fifty-five orders-in-council which could then remain in force, unless revoked by the government, until March 31, 1948. Parliament will have the usual opportunity to amend all this legislation before it is passed. The governor-in-council will then be bound by it. In Mr. Ilsley's words: "The only power will be the power of revocation, not the power of amendment or extension. It is very hard to arrange that in order to make it so that we can operate, but we have it now, I think, so that we can safely operate exactly under the orders-in-council as we are asking parliament to continue them in force. They are completely rigid except for revocation."

This leaves the technicians of economic controls quite helpless. If a particular control becomes unworkable despite Mr. Ilsley's loving care, modification will be impossible. The only solution will be to ditch the control. It is the familiar dilemma of a capitalist country once it has abandoned the principle of *laissez-faire*; it must choose between arbitrary bureaucratic control of the economy, and a system so rigid that it must be set aside if it is not to wreck the economy.

Meanwhile, the economists of the Bank of Canada predict that Canadian prices are bound to come to the same level as American. American prices are now about 20 per cent above ours. The Bank's report also points out that we have a bad habit of selling on credit and buying for cash. That's another way of saying that we sell mainly to Britain and Europe, and buy mainly from the United States. It is time that the government made an effort to import from our debtors and to promote export to Latin America. In this we are, for once, in agreement with *The Globe and Mail*. The necessity is as obvious as it ever was; and it becomes more urgent every day.

## Keeping Canada White

The satisfaction felt by progressives when Prime Minister King announced that the Chinese Immigration Act was to be repealed was unfortunately premature. Mr. King stated that the effect of the repeal bill would be "to remove all discrimination against the Chinese on account of race, and to bring Chinese persons under the general provisions of the Immigration Act and no longer under legislation applying exclusively to persons of Chinese origin." This sounded as though Canada were taking a long-overdue step toward wiping race discrimination from her statute books. But closer examination reveals that it does not do this. In practice, discrimination against the Chinese remains.

Those seeking repeal of the Chinese Immigration Act were prompted primarily by the plight of the twenty-two thousand

Chinese men in Canada who were barred from bringing their wives and children into this country. The repeal has helped them little because Order-in-Council 2115, passed in 1930, provides that only Asiatics who are citizens may bring in their families. Of the twenty-two thousand Chinese, only two thousand are citizens. The reason why more have not become naturalized lies in another order-in-council, PC 1378, passed in 1931, which provided that Chinese residents could not become Canadian citizens without the consent of the Chinese government. Under pressure from Mr. Coldwell, Hon. J. A. Glen announced that this order-in-council would be repealed.

However, until PC 2115 is also repealed, Canadian residents of Chinese origin will be able to bring their wives and families into this country only if they are Canadian citizens, while Canadian residents of European and Latin-American origin may do so whether they are citizens or not. This is still discrimination: although the language of the fascist-minded groups who shout: "Keep Canada white!" has been officially disavowed, their philosophy still sets the pattern for our immigration policy.

## Social Credit in Parliament

We publish in this issue Mr. Quinn's analysis of the advances of Social Credit in Quebec because our readers should keep aware of developments in a movement which seems to lead straight down the road to fascism. Except for a somewhat academic devotion to the economic fallacies of Major Douglas, the leaders of Social Credit sections seem united only by their capacity for irresponsible promises, their readiness to play on racial discords, their debasing use of vital words and concepts, such as freedom and security, spoken with a sanctimonious complacency that obscures complete lack of any meaning, and their nationalism.

All these can be seen in recent speeches in parliament. In the Address debate, Solon Low laid great stress on individual freedom, leading to this: "any time the government sets out to achieve as its major conscious objective full employment, social security, or a planned economy, that government is going straight down the road to slavery of the people of this country." He went on to propose that the House "set up a continuing watch-dog committee on subversive activities similar to the Dies Committee in the United States". A pretty picture, as it is to be a watchdog against communism, which, to Mr. Low, means everybody to the left of the extreme right.

Norman Jaques expressed his solidarity with the notoriously reactionary Christian Nationalists in the U.S.A. and then trick-plays on the name: "I regard anyone who attacks the principles of Christian nationalism as an enemy of this and every other country which still preserves its freedom." Having thus confessed the worst—opposition to the United Nations being now another hallmark of Social Credit—Jaques goes on to refute the charge of anti-semitism by saying there is no such thing in this country and that the very accusation is a communist racket, and then, like his leader, links the CCF with the Communists. A stupid speech? Of course, but a careful reading of it shows a deliberate and studied use of the propaganda tricks of the baser sort.

The palm, however, goes to the new member for Pontiac. M. Caouette tells us his program is freedom and security



for the individual. He is in the House to apply the program of his electors, not the program of any party. His Union des Electeurs includes Liberals, Conservatives and all others; they wish "le bien de tout le monde". But as the Social Credit program is the same as this, he is with them! Specifically he wants: old-age pensions of sixty at sixty without means test; disability pensions from twenty-one of the same amount; a national dividend of \$20 a month for everybody (the more money people have the better: "on n'a jamais vu dans tout le Canada un millionnaire paresseux") autonomy for the provinces; abolition of all controls and we shall then have all the houses we want.

Plans for all this? Well, you must not plan, just promise. Such are the new allies of our Ontario Tories. Natural buddies under the skin, but dangerous company.

## Action in Saskatchewan

The Throne Speech to the present Saskatchewan Legislature indicates that the CCF Government of that province has not slowed its pace in its endeavors to establish a permanent "socialist beachhead" in Canada. During the past year the government has made significant progress in many fields.

Saskatchewan has "established the largest publicly directed (free) hospitalization scheme on the continent . . . (and) is preparing to create a complete system of socialized medicine capable of meeting the needs of the people of Saskatchewan and improving their health standards."

In the field of housing, which is primarily a dominion responsibility, "approximately six hundred living units in all have been constructed and further building is planned." Critics of socialist industry will learn with dismay that after only two years of operation, the new government industries of Saskatchewan were able to report large profits. The Throne Speech aptly pointed out that this proves "that there are fields in which ownership and control by the people through their Legislature can be effectively achieved." Saskatchewan now operates a brick factory and ceramics works, a woolen mill, a box factory, a shoe factory, a tannery, two fish filleting plants, a timber marketing agency, a printing plant, a fur marketing agency, a government insurance office, a bus company, and a power commission. During the next year, the government is building a new sodium sulphate plant, and proposes to begin the manufacture of rock wool. In addition, it plans the investigation of the distribution and sale of gas as a public utility.

The government's Automobile Accident Insurance is an outstanding success, rates are being reduced, protection extended. Trade union membership has increased 60 per cent and legislation promised at this session will reduce weekly hours without loss of pay. A provincial Bill of Rights is proposed guaranteeing all persons against discrimination on grounds of race, creed or color. The government will be permitted to guarantee a proportion of loans made to co-operatives, and more land is to be made available for veteran's co-operative farms. An Industrial Development Fund is to be set up to create new industries and private business may, in this connection, receive both research and financial assistance from the CCF government. (This may surprise Mr. Gladstone Murray et al.)

The variety in proposals made by the Saskatchewan Government for improving the welfare of its people are in sharp contrast to the noncommittal statements of the Federal Government's Speech from the Throne on the

opening of the Dominion Parliament. The field in which a provincial government can operate is small but Saskatchewan is showing what can be done by a bold socialist government in a limited sphere. It is a challenge to the imagination of the Canadian people to visualize what a federal socialist government could do with the much broader opportunities and powers at its command.

## The Mills of the Gods

Nearly 200 years ago the British enclosure acts confiscated the lands of an estimated 175,000 freehold peasants. The ruined yeomen fled to the growing industrial towns, and scientific agriculture, under the protection of heavy duties, particularly on grains, became a lucrative business for the lord of the manor. The repeal of these "corn laws" just a hundred years ago began something of a counter agricultural revolution. The introduction of death duties 50 years ago, and the taxes on unearned increment in land values 35 years ago, undermined Britain's huge estates. Lloyd George asked: "Who made ten thousand people owners of the soil and the rest of us trespassers in the land of our birth?" Heavier income and inheritance taxes, as a result of the first world war, quickened the breakdown of the great estates. The British people took an increasing interest in their limited land resources, and when the second world war came, a parliament dominated by Conservatives decreed that those entrusted with the precious arable land—whether owners or tenants—must make it produce the maximum or be dispossessed.

The county agricultural committees achieved this objective so satisfactorily that there was almost universal agreement and demand that they should remain after the war. Ontario's George Drew in pre-premier days, was enthused about the committees, and promised similar committees for Ontario. He did not forget the promise, but so far he has forgotten to give the committees anything to do. It has fallen to the Labor government to make permanent Britain's "county agricultural executive committees," on which farmers, farm workers and landowners will have representation. Government publicity states that the Agriculture bill's "major provisions were foreshadowed by the Conservative minister of agriculture in the Coalition government and, in principle, the bill is largely agreed upon between the parties." The British Farmers' Union seems to be in favor of the bill, which provides for assured markets and guaranteed prices (not for fruits and vegetables). There is moderate continuance of the wartime requirement of optimum use of the land. Farmers (who of course are chiefly tenants) and landowners who do not comply with the laid down standards of husbandry may be placed under supervision for a year and may be dispossessed ultimately—but even then there is an appeal to an agricultural land tribunal, with the onus on the county agricultural committee to prove bad husbandry.

There is no confiscation of land, but there is provision for public ownership of marsh and other land which could not be developed by private individuals. The government also promises (partly under the authority of the companion Town and Country Planning bill) to see that good agricultural land is not unnecessarily diverted to some non-agricultural purpose. Notably, the bill provides for loans to agricultural laborers and to farmers' sons to make them tenant farmers on their own account. The people are patiently and cautiously undoing the enclosure confiscations of two centuries ago. There is no justification for the present attempt to frighten Canadian farmers into thinking that something dreadful is about to happen to British farmers.



## So Many Lost Weekends

The latest gathering of the Ontario Temperance Federation, which coincided with lifting of the liquor ration, included an abortive proposal to form a temperance party. It is with genuine concern that one sees the public utterances of Protestant churches increasingly identified with those of a group of full-time temperance agitators, who give the public the impression that their churches regard the "liquor traffic" as of far greater importance than any theological doctrine, any other social question, or any other moral weakness. We say weakness, for the refusal to make any moral distinction between drinking and drunkenness is part of the whole temperance position. No one can deny that drunkenness constitutes a grave social problem; but unfortunately the effect of losing all sense of proportion about it is to make it seem almost trivial. And it can hardly be denied either that many clergymen have completely lost their sense of proportion about drinking, and have transformed a real issue into a superstitious taboo which is injurious to religion (it has, for example, alienated a large number from the churches whose support could have been had for the asking), which has no intelligible relationship to politics, and which is steadily losing all connection with doing good.

Many temperance advocates are only church politicians; but many are men with long and honorable careers in the support of liberal and socialist causes; a fact which is reflected in a certain realism with which they associate the drinking problem with profits and private enterprise. One is all the more surprised, therefore, to find them falling into the common reformers' error of mistaking an effect for a cause. People take to drink because of psychological maladjustments or economic insecurity. The former any serious religion would regard as falling within the province of the "cure of souls"; the latter is an evil which nothing but an intelligently planned socialist movement can really cure. Socialists ask for the support of the Christian Churches on the ground that the present system of monopoly capitalism is immoral as well as inefficient; and to divert all one's reforming energies from the central problem of insecurity to one of its by-products is, as drunkenness is, like pulling a leaf from a tree and expecting the tree to wither away.

## Europe and Coal

The bias in the handling of the news by the Canadian and American press has never been so convincingly demonstrated as in the manner in which it handled the coal crises in England and Europe. Everyone on this continent who glanced at newspaper headlines or listened to news broadcasts could not help but become aware of the serious coal crisis in England.

We wonder how many of our readers noted in the back pages of their newspapers, reports of the much more desperate position of the European peoples.

Berlin official figures revealed that 134 persons *froze to death* between December 1 and February 5. 50,000 people were treated for chilblains and frost injuries during that period. 18 people were reported to have starved to death between February 10 and 13. 200 Berliners committed suicide in January. All restaurants and places of amusement in Berlin have turned into warming centres for emergency cases and old people.

The rest of the European continent fared little better than the Germans. Reuter's dispatch of February 14, reported that "Paris has been divided into four zones, each without electricity two days each week. Copenhagen's daily

electricity ration is just about enough to boil a kettle and the city has no domestic gas supply.

"Northern Italy's industry is virtually paralyzed by electricity cuts. Rome is threatened with a cut up to four days a week. Freezing of rivers and canals in Holland has made it impossible to transport coal . . .

"Prague shuts off its current three hours a day, all schools are closed in Budapest because they cannot be heated, and in Vienna there has been no domestic or industrial fuel for several weeks. Every day a different part of Madrid is without heat or light, and in the case of large apartment blocks without water or sewage. Lisbon has had electricity rationing since the war."

Prime Minister Attlee deserves the commendation of the entire world for his courageous act in declining President Truman's offer to divert American coal ships from European ports to England. He effectively demonstrated that the socialist government of Great Britain does not share the contemptuous attitude toward non-Anglo-Saxons that Americans and Canadians exhibit.

## Thumbprints

The elections to the Supreme Soviet have taken place in Russia. According to reports, the number of voters varies between 98 and 99.9 of the electorate. The votes for the communist party's candidates are estimated at 90 per cent, and Stalin himself has received 100 per cent of the votes cast in his district. There are, of course, no alternative candidates. That, and the number of votes cast, make "democracy" à la Russe rather difficult for a democrat to understand.

\* \* \* \*

John Grierson, one time head of the Canadian film-board, has been refused a residence visa in the United States. It is freely stated in despatches that business interests protested his admission because of the competition he might give to certain film interests. The land of free enterprise believes in free competition, but evidently it does not believe in too much of it.

\* \* \* \*

We are happy to congratulate the Police Commission of Toronto: they have decided that licenses will be issued to theatres, restaurants, dance-halls, skating rinks and other places of entertainment only if they do not practise racial discrimination. We hope that the decision will be strictly enforced; recent events seem to have awakened the conscience of the people generally. May it stay awake.

\* \* \* \*

A BUP dispatch of January 23 stated that the British government is asking married women to "re-enter industry and help Britain through her economic crisis." In the same week a report in the *Christian Science Monitor*, outlining regulations governing members of the British Diplomatic and Foreign Services, stated: "As a rule a woman will be required to resign upon marriage." Apparently the British government believes that it is perfectly all right for married women to work—as long as they work in overalls and not in the more formal attire of the diplomatic services.

\* \* \* \*

A lively and rather ridiculous discussion has been stirred up in Toronto by the decision of the board of education to provide a room in two schools where teachers may smoke. The essential point, however, seems to have escaped notice: that smoking is but one of many things in regard to which children in the schools are brought up in an atmosphere of pretence which they know very well to be false. Honest citizens cannot be brought up that way.

## Alignment of Parties

► CANADA now has five parties operating in the federal field: Liberals, Conservatives, CCF, Social Credit and LPP-Communist. The two largest parties are the same two traditional loosely-knit conglomerations that have shared the government between themselves ever since Confederation. Their antiquity is rapidly reaching the point of obsolescence, and whatever historic validity may have attached to their earlier differences, nobody now can tell the one from the other on point of principle. Some may think that the problems posed in Canada by the war were handled with more finesse by Mr. King than they would have been by whoever was Tory leader in 1939 (I forget), but the war is over and we face changed conditions and new opportunities. Today the Liberals and Conservatives represent a single body, and a reactionary body, of social and economic policy.

It would be fatal to Canadian capitalism, however, if the public ever became fully aware of the fact. They have become aware of it in two Canadian provinces, Manitoba and British Columbia, and there we have coalition governments. The CCF is the official opposition. The coalition in Manitoba, be it noted, includes the Social Credit members also, since in their basic adherence to "free enterprise" they too belong in the same camp. In eastern Canada, however, where the national policy is decided, the old political attitudes are better preserved, or at least better controlled from the top by the power of money and publicity. So the old sham battle is maintained. The public is led to believe that it really matters greatly whether one or the other of the two old parties governs. Whereas what really matters is whether this country clings to "free enterprise" until another economic calamity overwhelms it, suffering meanwhile all the frustrations and injustices that capitalism imposes, or whether it faces the facts of modern life and begins the march toward a new social and economic order based on national planning and social ownership. And when it starts on the new road, it matters enormously whether Canada aims at a democratic socialism or a totalitarian socialism. Here are real and practical issues, part of the air we breathe daily, round which parties should and no doubt will be aligned. No other distinctions are worth bothering about.

We are far from any such party honesty at the present time. The Tories have been deliberately spreading a story that the CCF and the Liberals were about to amalgamate. This is the kind of "tactic" the old parties use as a substitute for an honest presentation of views. It was calculated to embarrass Mr. King by pinning the socialist label on him, and to embarrass the CCF by sowing doubt among its members as to the sincerity of its leaders. It was of a piece with the other Tory statement that the Liberals are already socialists. Mr. J. M. Macdonnell, who ought to know better, has been reported as saying that the question is not whether Canada is going into socialism, but how we can "climb out of it". If it is a duty in a democracy for political parties to clarify issues for the public, then the Tories have lamentably failed in their duty. Canada is nowhere near socialism. For a second time after a great world war, this country has been handed over to the unimpeded exploitation of capitalist corporations. For a second time a magnificent war effort has been betrayed in order that private interests might be reinstated. After World War I the Tories went "back to normalcy;" after World War II the Liberals went back to "free enterprise." In historic perspective, there is not a fraction of difference between them.

Mr. King has, as usual, been much more shrewd than the Tories. He let this idea of amalgamation with the CCF

drift round a long time before denying it. Maybe he even thought he might swallow the CCF up as he did the Progressives after 1921. It was to his advantage to appear as much unlike the Tories as possible, so as to try to escape the unescapable fact that the Liberals are, after all, just "one of the two old parties". He recognizes, which the Tories don't, that the world has moved and is moving to the left, and that he cannot hope to keep power unless he attracts a lot of left-of-centre votes. He knows that Canada shares the dubious position, along with South Africa and Ireland, of being the reactionary and slow-moving part of the British Commonwealth, while Britain herself, Australia and New Zealand have broken with the old parties and turned to democratic socialism. He understands quite well that the pattern set in these countries is likely to be followed here as the CCF advances, and that two old parties will become one old party. His political function is to postpone that event as long as possible. Fundamentally a Tory in that he believes in free enterprise, he must dabble in social legislation and "Liberalism" in order that the old two-party game can be played a little longer. In this he is capitalism's best defender, and Canada's most misleading leader in this post-war world.

Fortunately the political fog has been cleared a little by some recent statements. The CCF has time and again made it plain that it will not ally itself with the Liberals or any other non-socialist party, but the CCF does not command enough publicity to correct quickly the planned campaigns of misinformation in our kept press. Mr. Coldwell, however, made his position so abundantly clear at the opening of Woodsworth House, Ottawa, on Jan. 25, and it was so obvious that the anti-government attack of the CCF would appear in Parliament, that Mr. King was obliged to speak out. At the banquet given by the National Liberal Federation—that amorphous body of self-appointed notables occasionally summoned to give the appearance of democracy to the Liberal party machine—Mr. King tried to distinguish his party from both Tories and CCF. Of the Tories he said:

"The old Tory party, I say, has always been watching special interests rather than the general interest. Study the history of the Conservative party and you will find that it is a party that has a great concern for privilege, a great concern for possession, a great concern for power and for those various objectives that mean special privileges for the few but not necessarily subordinating those special privileges to the good of the many. There is not much trouble in distinguishing between the two old parties."

Not much trouble? Some, obviously, even for Mr. King. And a good deal more for the humble citizen, for when the Liberal leader went on to denounce the CCF he spoke like any old Tory:

"As you study Socialism you will find that more and more it aims, as its leaders will tell you, at socializing industry, production, distribution and the like with the view to substituting political masters for business masters in the great industries and in the economy of the country."

So Liberalism will keep us under our business masters. Later he said:

"Begin to regiment trade and manufacture and industry and what results? If industry is to hold its own in world competition, the success of Canada in the future will lie largely in what we can do in enabling our industrialists to compete."

This is good, capitalistic economics. It is not Canada that competes, but "our industrialists". They must be helped. Shall it be subsidies paid out of taxes, as for Dosco? Shall it be giving them publicly-built war plants for a song, as with War Assets Corporation? Or shall it be the simple



method of holding down wages? Clearly we must not interfere with our business masters or we shall be sunk. Now is it clear how the Liberals differ from the Tories? No wonder Mr. Hilton, president of Steel Company of Canada, recently admitted he gave campaign funds to both the two old parties. These distinctions are too fine for him.

To do Mr. King justice he made another attempt at a distinction. He went on:

"The Tories say let us do away with controls; let us have no more control by the state. The CCF say they want controls maintained and extended . . . The Liberal party says that the general good be served instead of the good of any particular group or interest."

This seems to be getting at something, a sort of vague feeling of goodwill to all. But since it presupposes a free enterprise system, with the state aiding "our industrialists" to compete, it means just nothing that we did not have in the 1930's. And just how little control the Liberals believe in can be seen from the record. Decontrol is the order of the day. So much so that Mr. King removed the milk subsidy against the expressed will of parliament. Every day old controls are coming off and prices are still rising. The magnificent state-owned war plants have been almost completely liquidated by war assets, and now are safely in the hands of our masters of monopoly. Federal labor control is ending, and no lead is given toward a national labor code, long overdue. The co-operative movement is now subject to new Liberal taxation—no doubt to help our industrialists compete! Old-age pensions remain a blot on our social standards, and health insurance disappears from sight. The housing situation is a crying shame. This country is setting back the hands of progress, and the Liberal party, being in power, is responsible. Canada's new deal has ended—it if ever began—and our Republicans are in office.

The political alignment is clear. The Tories, Liberals and Social Crediters support private enterprise and defend a status quo which cannot last. There is no fundamental difference between these splinter groups. The LPP, tied by long strings to Moscow, aims at a totalitarian system that no sane man wants. The CCF intends to start Canada, as it has started Saskatchewan, along the road to economic plenty and security, by combining the best in our traditions of personal liberty and democracy with the modern techniques of national planning and social ownership. Only this road can preserve the spiritual values of the western world in this industrial and atomic age.

F. R. SCOTT.

## Twenty-Six Years Ago

TWENTY-SIX YEARS AGO: Vol. 1, No. 6, March, 1921.

A question which has been asked ever since the signing of the armistice and which has become more insistent during the present period of unemployment is: What is to be the position of woman in industry? Is she to continue to fill the position which she filled during the war and compete with men in semi-skilled and skilled trades, or is she to go back to her pre-war status, which meant that for the most part she was an unskilled, low-paid, short-time worker?

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## Tour of Europe

*Albert A. Shea*

► IT WILL SOON be two years since the war with Germany ended. For most of us the days of the war seem distant, and their memory is fading fast. Not so in Distomo.

George Gambrilis was the pharmacist of Distomo. In his shop he compounded remedies for the 1600 people of the town. When he was not busy with his herbs and pills he would lean in his doorway with arms folded, watching the life of the village move slowly past his shop. He would look up at ancient Mount Parnassus, which was to stand as a silent witness while a new tragedy was added to the history of Greece.

The brother of George Gambrilis in Athens has had a tomb built to the memory of the late pharmacist of Distomo, his wife, and their four young children. They all died on the same day, at the hands of the Nazis. They were young: the pharmacist was forty-one, his wife thirty-nine, and their children, two boys and two girls, were aged six, five, four, and one. They died on June 10, 1944. On that day the Nazis slew every man, woman, and child they found in Distomo. The complete list is inscribed on the church front in "Franklin Roosevelt Square," the central square of the town. There are 222 names on the list, ranging from Anah Basdeki, who was eighty years old, to an infant whose family name was Zakka, but who, at the age of two months, had not yet been christened. In addition to the list on the church front, each burnt-out shell of a house bears a wooden sign, inscribed with the names of the inhabitants, and the date on which they died. They showed me the house where the priest died. A number of his flock sought refuge with him, in vain. They showed me the bullet-holes in the side of the school-house. Here twelve young men of the village were lined up and shot.

This is ancient history now. I repeat it, because it is still fresh in the minds of the people of Distomo. The loss of life, the burning of their homes, the killing and driving away of their cattle—every day the people of Distomo have cause to remember these things.

When I talk to people of the misery of Greece, they say: "Yes, but Greece was always a poor country." It's true. But not this poor. Not this miserable. Greece and Yugoslavia and much of Italy had primitive peasant economies. Their living conditions were far below our exalted North-American standards. But they led lives of contentment, for the most part, even if they lacked inside plumbing, and theatres, and evaporated milk in cans. Many who emigrated to America were drawn back by the remembered beauty of their native land, and the easy-going contentment of the hard peasant life. The skies and the landscapes of Greece have lost none of their old beauty, but the life of the people is hard beyond enduring.

Through an interpreter, I talked to a nursing mother. A slab of UNRRA bread and an onion; that was her food for the day. But the children of the village were more fortunate now, and she pointed with a look of hope in her eyes to the building called "Eagle's Nest." In this building, the Near East Foundation, a charitable body, had just recently set up a child-feeding station. Here the children come once a day for a warm meal. On the day I was there the meal consisted of grapefruit juice, soup made of eggplant, tomatoes and onions, and fish. Once a month the meal would include a small portion of fresh meat. The children brought their own slice of UNRRA bread with them from home. For most of them, this meal was their only food



for the day. The nurse in charge showed me the children's medical charts. Of the 310 children, 180 are undernourished. The village was recently sprayed with DDT by UNRRA to ward off malaria, but among the children in her charge there are forty malaria cases which date back to before the spraying.

The problems of Europe are *human* problems. It is necessary to find out the facts about European conditions, and then translate these facts into their equivalent in human misery and suffering.

#### Food

Between now and the 1947 harvest, many European countries face acute shortages of food. Austria, Italy, and Greece imported part of their food supply before the war. When the Nazis were driven back, these countries received assistance first from the military authorities, and later from UNRRA. But UNRRA came to an end December 31, 1946, and by March, 1947, the last trickle of supplies will have flowed through its pipe-lines. The food-importing countries lack the exports which paid their food-import bills in pre-war days. Until such time as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is functioning, these countries will be forced to rely on the assistance of charitable organizations and on loans from friendly nations.

Of the 20,000,000 tons of food and supplies shipped to Europe by UNRRA, three out of every four tons were supplied and paid for by the United States. The American State Department admits that the period of emergency relief is by no means over, but any further assistance provided by the United States is to go in the form of direct gifts and loans to countries considered needy. In answer to the charge that this leaves the back door open to the use of food as a political weapon, the Americans have no hesitation in "re-affirming the principle that at no time should relief supplies be used as a political weapon, and that no discrimination should be made in the distribution of relief supplies because of race, creed, or political belief." In other words, the United States is prepared to operate on the same basis as UNRRA—that is, almost, but not quite.

If we inquire further, we find that "The determination of a country's needs will take into consideration whether that country is doing everything possible to help itself, and whether it is diverting manpower and facilities away from the production of the necessities of life." This makes me wonder what the prospects of Yugoslavia would be. In travelling through the country, you run across a great many soldiers and sentry boxes. The best unofficial estimates in the country are that out of Yugoslavia's 14,000,000 people, 800,000 are in uniform. The prospects of a food shortage in Yugoslavia are more than theoretical. The country's principal crop is maize, and a two-month drought last summer reduced the hoped-for harvest by 50 per cent. It would seem, then, that if Yugoslavia were to receive assistance from the United States, in order to secure food for its people, it would have to accept guidance from the United States about the size of its armed forces. This would seem to be more properly the subject of the International Disarmament Conference, rather than of the American State Department, but I quite realize that the example I have given is completely theoretical, because Yugoslavia is as unlikely to accept American supplies on American terms as the United States is to send food to the people of a country which had the temerity to shoot down an American plane with the loss of five American lives.

That there might have been provocation for this tragic incident, or that thousands of Yugoslavs may be faced with food shortage when UNRRA's supplies are consumed, is quite beside the point. The fact that a Yugoslav fighter plane shot

down an unarmed American Army transport plane is clearly fixed in the mind of the American public.

#### Reconstruction

Europe can be likened to a bicycle. To get going again, it needs two wheels. One is marked "Food" and the other "Reconstruction." It takes food to keep the people alive and give them the energy to work. But it requires raw material, machinery, and agricultural equipment to restore industry and agriculture to the point where they are capable of both meeting internal needs and turning out the exports required to pay for imports and repay rehabilitation loans.

Countries which have been receiving UNRRA aid have a source of internal finance which few people know about. In each country where UNRRA has been operating, there are "blocked funds." These funds are the result of the fact that UNRRA supplies were for the most part distributed through the normal channels of trade and sold at low, controlled prices. Only to indigent and displaced persons were UNRRA supplies distributed without charge. The revenue from the sale of UNRRA stores went into this "blocked fund," which is now available to the government of the country, but solely on the understanding that the money is to be used for approved reconstruction projects carried out under UNRRA supervision. But, of course, this money cannot be used to purchase needed imports. For that, the countries of Europe must depend on loans, and until loans are available from the International Bank each country will have to go to its friends for money.

To visit the areas in Europe through which war has passed gives you a profound impression of how terrible and widespread is the physical destruction. It is useless to expect this damage to be repaired in two or three years. Countries like Greece, Yugoslavia, Austria, and Italy need long-term assistance, based on clearly-thought-out economic programs, designed to restore their national well-being over a period of from ten to fifteen years. Inadequate and piecemeal loans will tend to be consumed in the purchase of food supplies to keep the people alive, without permitting the importation of the goods needed to revive industry and agriculture. This will leave the countries in question chronically dependent on gifts and loans which will of necessity become hand-outs.

#### Displaced Persons

One of UNRRA's responsibilities was to care for that unfortunate group of people left at the end of the war with no country they chose to call home. According to present estimates, there are 1,000,000 Displaced Persons. Of these, 275,000 are Jews, and the remainder, rightly or wrongly, do not desire to return to their home lands, now under Russian influence. The only solvent for their distress is permanent re-settlement; yet the present plans provide for the re-settlement of only 12,500 of them during 1947. Here again, international action is slow in coming and inadequate upon arrival. By special permission, UNRRA continues its activities in the Displaced Persons' camps until June. The International Refugee Organization is being established as a temporary body, and is expected to receive a budget of \$160,000,000 from its member United Nations. Maintaining a million people in camps is an expensive business. While their future remains uncertain, they are largely non-productive groups, consuming scarce food and supplies and contributing little in a world that is short of labor. But these facts are incidental to the terrifying prospect that unless these people are speedily rescued and enabled to take up established normal life, they may, because of the mental stress under which they live, become unsalvageable.

Last summer, I spent the months of August and September travelling through the devastated areas of Southern Europe. In a hundred destroyed villages and towns, I saw something of the human side of Europe's problems. When we discuss

the problems of Europe in our comfortable Canadian parlors, we need great powers of projection to appreciate the awful destruction wrought by World War II. As we drink our cup of coffee and accept a piece of cake from a passing tray, we need strong imagination to put ourselves in the shoes of the citizen of Vienna who for many long months has been existing on 1200 calories a day—just enough to prevent starvation, but not enough to halt disease, or overcome the lack of energy reflected in apathy, despondency, and inefficiency.

The war was a dramatic struggle for survival. We sanctified our cause by dedicating our efforts to freeing the world from want, fear, and mental shackles. But peace is a dull and troublesome affair. The issues aren't clearly outlined for us in black and white. We can no longer cast off personal responsibility by donning a uniform and allowing others to make our decisions for us. Every day brings new evidence that it is easier to fight for our principles than to live up to them.

## Taxation of Co-operatives

*Ralph S. Staples*

► IN THE COMMERCIAL FIELD a co-operative is an organization democratically controlled by its members. Through it they may market their produce or purchase their merchandise and supplies. The affairs of the co-operative are conducted in such a way that the members obtain its services at cost. Savings resulting from trading operations with the members are returned to the members at the end of the period in cash, in deferred payment or in increased equity.

Let us state clearly right at the start that co-operatives have no objection to paying all taxes justly levied. Co-operatives have always paid all forms of property and business taxation common to the business community. This article deals with income tax alone. Co-operatives contend that trading surpluses or savings in a co-operative resulting from member business, because of fundamental differences in structure and purpose, are so unlike profits of an ordinary corporation that they cannot be considered income in the ordinary sense of the word and so cannot properly be made subject to income tax.

The hope of profit is the motivating force in non-co-operative enterprise, the reason it exists. This is not true of a co-operative. In fact, it is possible for a co-operative to be entirely successful in every way and have no income or profits. By what stretch of the imagination, then, can income be considered an equitable or possible basis for taxation of co-operatives?

Let us take a simple example. Four men plan a fishing trip. They are busy men and the time is short so they ask a friend to make all arrangements for them. They estimate that the trip will cost \$150 each and they each advance that sum—\$600 in all. But when the tickets are bought and accommodation paid for the actual cost is \$585. They decide that the friend should have \$5 for his trouble making the cost \$590. To whom does the other \$10 belong. To the four men, of course. Is it profit? Certainly not. They can divide it among themselves (patronage dividend) or they can instruct the friend to use it for other purchases on their behalf or they can decide to leave it intact until further need arises.

In the case of this illustration the status of the unused portion of the advanced \$600 is clear to all. To co-operators the status of the unused portion of what they pay for their groceries is equally clear. So clear indeed that perhaps they can be forgiven if they sometimes question the motives of those who will not see.

Perhaps our illustration is over-simplified but certainly the position would not be far different if the four men had incorporated a society to organize the fishing trip (or trips). Nor would it change the picture much if our illustration concerned a producer (instead of consumer) co-operative. Savings would then result from an underpayment to the member from the co-operative rather than an overpayment to the co-operative from the member as in our illustration. In the case of the producer co-operative, of course, distribution of surplus augments the personal income of the individual member. This does not affect the principle in dispute materially which concerns earnings or savings while in the hands of the co-operative and savings allocated to the member but not paid out to him.

Co-operatives in Canada have been growing steadily. During the last ten-year period for which figures are available the dollar volume of produce marketed by co-operatives has multiplied by more than three and the dollar volume of merchandise and supplies purchased by co-operatives has multiplied by seven or eight.<sup>1</sup>

It is not only in volume that co-operatives have grown. Their comparative position has improved also. Though they only held their place in fruit and vegetables, grain and seed, in the marketing of dairy products their percentage of the total volume for Canada almost doubled.<sup>2</sup> In the marketing of livestock it trebled.<sup>3</sup> Turning to the purchasing of merchandise and supplies we find that though small the percentage of Canada's total retail business done by co-operatives more than doubled. The figures available indicate that in 1943 co-operative merchandising had increased above its pre-war level just twice as far as retailing in general.<sup>4</sup>

Canadians believe in democracy. One would suppose that every Canadian would be happy to have the direct control of a substantial and growing segment of our economic life in the hands of those who use it. Certainly the members of co-operatives went on extending their operations in the belief that they were operating in the public interest. By the end of 1943 in agricultural co-operatives alone there were 585,000 members.<sup>5</sup>

Into this busy scene of constructive effort the announcement that the savings of co-operatives might be taxed like the profit of an ordinary corporation came like a cold draught into an ant hill. The effect was remarkable. Nothing else could have stirred co-operators to such activity. After the first cold shock the co-operative movement in Canada gathered itself together for the fight of its life. The Income Tax Payers Association lead the attack on the co-operatives and the government appointed a Royal Commission under Order-in-Council dated November 16, 1944.

The Commission was authorized to inquire into the present position of co-operatives in the matter of application thereto of the Income War Tax Act, the organization and business methods and operations of co-operatives and the comparative position in relation to taxation of any business in direct competition with co-operatives. And the Commission was directed to "report . . . all facts . . . pertinent for determining . . . a just . . . basis for the application of the Income War Tax Act to co-operatives". Some interpret this as a direction to the Commission to discover how co-operatives might be effectively taxed.

The report of the Royal Commission is now history. If the briefs presented, the articles written, the speeches made on co-operative taxation in the two years and a half since the Commission began its hearings were laid together they would

<sup>1</sup>See Report of Royal Commission on Co-operatives, pp. 114 and 116.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 102.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, pp. 108 and 112.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, p. 15.



pave the streets of Ottawa. And some of the words in them are hard enough to make good pavement.

Though all concerned hold Mr. Justice McDougall and the other members of the Commission in the highest esteem and greatly appreciate the exhaustive study made and the careful report submitted it can be truly said that the report of the Royal Commission on Co-operatives pleased no one. It certainly did not please co-operators because it failed to recognize fundamental differences between co-operatives and other corporations. It did not please profit enterprise, at least not those corporations represented by the Income Tax Payers Association, because it did provide for the distribution of part of the surplus in the form of patronage dividends before arriving at taxable income (even though under rather stringent conditions). And if one can judge from resulting action it did not please the government perhaps because the Commission was unable or unwilling to recommend a clear basis for taxing the savings of co-operatives.

The government has certain inescapable responsibilities. The old idea that government is only a referee to insure fair play between various economic forces is now outdated. It is recognized that government has the additional responsibility for deciding what the general outlines of Canada's economy will be. By passing a certain regulation, by raising or lowering a tariff, by increasing or reducing a tax the government willy-nilly, tends to develop Canada's economy in one direction or another.

This being true the basic decision any government is called upon to make is a decision concerning direction. To be specific the government must decide whether the development of commercial co-operatives is in the public interest or not. Action taken seems to indicate that the government has decided that the development of co-operatives is not in the public interest. If one believes co-operatives are good one would encourage them in every possible way. If one believes co-operatives are not good one would discourage their growth. There is not the slightest doubt that the new income tax amendments are discouraging to co-operatives and will continue to be that as long as they are in force.

Co-operative members take a dark view of the situation. The board of directors of the Co-operative Union of Canada met with the executive of the *Le Conseil Canadien de la Coopération* on December 10, 1946. These two organizations represent the vast majority of co-operatives in Canada. After long discussion the joint meeting passed a restrained and carefully-worded resolution. Here is the text:

"Whereas recent amendments to the Income War Tax Act do adequately recognize the principles on which the co-operative movement is based and fail to recognize the fundamental difference between co-operatives operating for service and corporations operating for profit; and whereas we believe the aforesaid legislation is confused and unworkable; and whereas the Government of Canada has failed to accede to the repeated requests which the Co-operative Union of Canada and *Le Conseil Canadien de la Coopération* have made for changes in Federal taxation legislation which would adequately recognize sound co-operative principles and practice; now therefore be it hereby resolved that we launch a vigorous campaign to secure dominion legislation which will provide that the savings or surplus of a co-operative, which is derived from member business is not profit and therefore should not be liable for income tax."

In examining the reason why members of co-operatives feel vigorous action necessary, it is difficult to avoid a long, detailed and complicated statement. There is no space for that here but at the risk of over-simplification we will attempt to set forth briefly a few of the major objections to the present legislation.

First: believe it or not, the present income tax legislation does not recognize that there is such a thing as a co-operative in Canada (unless it is a new organization which began business since the first of January, 1947 and even then its co-operative status is recognized only for the first three years of its life). The previous income tax legislation, the now famous section 4P of the Income War Tax Act, though admittedly inadequate did exempt from tax the savings of most types of co-operatives in Canada provided they complied with certain conditions. We have moved in the opposite direction.

Second: though co-operatives are democratic organizations controlled through the application of the principle of one member one vote and the principle of delegate representation in exactly the same way the government of Canada is controlled they are not allowed to decide by a vote of the members what will be done with a possible surplus. Why should the savings in a co-operative which mixes livestock feed for its members for instance, be considered to have characteristics essentially different from the \$10 of savings in our fishing illustration? But the fact is either the savings must be paid out to the individual member under conditions prescribed in the new legislation or it will be taxed as profit in exactly the same way that profits of a non-co-operative corporation are taxed.

Third: co-operatives which have savings are not permitted to reduce those savings through distributions to the members to a point below a sum equal to 3 per cent of employed capital.<sup>6</sup> "Employed capital" includes in effect all the money in the organization. This is a real joker. What is represented as a tax on income is in reality a tax related to capital employed. No other business is taxed on this basis. The government has thus established an artificial and far-fetched basis for taxing co-operatives.

Strange as it may seem if a co-operative is paying comparatively large sums in the form of interest on loans from members it is not subject to this 3 per cent provision. This seems to indicate that the provision was not introduced primarily for the purpose of raising revenue for the government but for the purpose of either penalizing the co-operative movement or of forcing it to take on some of the characteristics of profit enterprise by a recognition that capital is entitled to interest. With such a transparent example of injustice before them is it any wonder that the members of co-operatives are apprehensive?

Fourth: in some respects the new legislation is more annoying than effective. For instance, the regulations do not actually prohibit retention of surplus in the co-operative but require that the co-operative must hold a written authorization from each individual member. In practice it is well-nigh impossible to obtain these authorizations from the thousands of members in some co-operatives. And when they are obtained will they ever be used? Imagine the task facing the Income Tax Department in checking these to see they are in order. Co-operators find it difficult to understand the necessity for all this fuss. They know much easier ways of discovering whether the members of a co-operative wish to invest in it.

Fifth: by unjust taxation co-operatives may be induced to adopt unsound or undesirable practices as, for instance, (a) they may reduce trading margins to the danger point. After all, co-operatives are interested in providing a service. Accumulating a surplus and then distributing it is only incidental to the main purpose. But if the margins are reduced too far losses may result. If income tax ever became

<sup>6</sup>For strict accuracy the words "less interest paid on borrowed money (not including money borrowed from a bank or credit union) and deductible as an expense in computing income" should be added to this sentence.



burdensome reductions in trading margins are certain—further evidence that the income tax amendments, whatever their effect on co-operatives, are unlikely to raise additional revenues sufficient to justify the high administrative costs obviously involved. (b) They may not build up reserves sufficient for possible bad years. In good years surpluses can be distributed among the members but it is difficult to distribute a loss. Times may not always be good.

Sixth: co-operatives seek to apply the simple principles of mutuality and brotherhood expressed in their slogan, "Each for all and all for each". But now taxation amendments and regulations have them so surrounded with obfuscating conditions that their members are about ready in some instances to give up in despair. There are those who won't be sorry to see it happen. And even if co-operatives do keep grimly on building in this unfavorable environment the cost of gathering data and of securing qualified lawyers and accountants to keep things straight becomes a burden which they feel is unnecessary and unjustified.

In North America the forces opposing co-operative development are particularly well-entrenched. Co-operators are not fooling themselves into thinking that the struggle for justice will bring an easy victory. But they have fact and reason on their side. Their main problem lies in the difficulty of finding ways and means of presenting their case to the people. Canada's citizens are inherently fair-minded. Given an opportunity to understand the implications of the controversy over the income taxation of co-operatives there is no doubt what Canadians will want to do.

## Social Credit in Quebec

*Herbert F. Quinn*

► THE VICTORY of Quebec's Union des Electeurs in the recent Pontiac by-election, and the large vote polled by the party in the by-election in Richelieu-Vercheres, have focussed the political spotlight on the growing strength of the Quebec wing of the social credit movement. These by-elections sharply raise the question as to the factors which have contributed to the rise of the new party, and the extent to which it must be reckoned with as a political force in the province in the future. Before attempting to give an answer to these questions it is first of all essential to trace briefly the historical development of the party.

Although it is only recently that the Union des Electeurs has come out into the political limelight, the party was actually formed around the beginning of the war. Moreover, it was first organized as a purely Quebec political party, as it was not until 1944 that it became affiliated with other sections of the social credit movement in the Social Credit Association of Canada.

The leading figure in the launching of the new movement was Louis Even of Montreal, who at the present time is the leader of the party. Mr. Even had hitherto played no active part in Quebec politics but had, however, during the previous five years become well-known in the province for his activity in organizing study groups for the discussion and promotion of monetary reform theories. Closely associated with Mr. Even in the organization of the Union des Electeurs was J. E. Gregoire of Quebec City. Mr. Gregoire was a well-known figure in Quebec politics having been at one time mayor of Quebec City, and one of the leaders of the Union Nationale party when it rode into power in 1936. The following year, however, Mr. Gregoire broke with Mr. Duplessis, disagreeing with the Union Nationale leader on matters of policy. When the first national convention of the Social Credit Association of Canada was called in Toronto in 1944, Mr. Gregoire was chosen Vice-President of the movement at

the same time as Hon. Solon Low was chosen President and National Leader.

During the first few years of its existence the Union des Electeurs put up no candidates of its own for election in either the provincial or federal field. Instead, its strategy, as its name implies, was to organize the electors in each constituency into pressure groups for the purpose of influencing members of the House of Commons and the Legislative Assembly to become proponents of social credit theories.

However, when the 1944 provincial general election was called the party appeared to have largely abandoned its original policy as it actively entered the political field by putting up around a dozen candidates for election, most of them in the constituencies around Quebec City and in the Abitibi region. By the time the federal general election of 1945 came around the party had extended its organizational activities to the Montreal region and as a consequence was able to contest over forty of the province's sixty-five constituencies. Although it failed to elect any of its candidates in either of these general elections, in both cases the Union des Electeurs polled sizeable votes in a few constituencies where it was well organized. The party continued to persevere in its organizational work and the contesting of by-elections until its efforts were finally rewarded by its victory in Pontiac and the large vote it polled in the Richelieu-Vercheres by-election which was six times the vote it received in that particular constituency in the general election of the previous year.

This brief survey of the historical development of the social credit movement in Quebec indicates that although the Union des Electeurs cannot as yet be considered a major Quebec party, nevertheless it has succeeded in the short space of a few years in building up a nucleus of followers in practically every constituency in the province. Furthermore, since 1944 it has been more active in organizational work and in the contesting of by-elections than any of the other minor parties in Quebec, that is the Bloc Populaire, the CCF, and the LPP. This achievement has been accomplished in the face of the fact that the Union des Electeurs has a very limited supply of party funds at its disposal and consequently has been unable to use to any extent the usual forms of propaganda media, the pamphlet, the radio and the newspaper advertisement, as a means of spreading its doctrines.

In order to understand the reasons for the rapid development of the new movement it is necessary to digress for a moment to review briefly certain basic changes brought about by the depression of the 1930's in the traditional pattern of Canadian politics, including that of Quebec, which changes have persisted to the present day.

As we all know, the depression, with its large-scale unemployment, lowering of living standards and economic hardships, created throughout Canada considerable dissatisfaction with economic and social conditions. In protest against such conditions in all parts of the country large blocks of electors deserted the old parties, that is, the Liberals and the Conservatives, and threw their support behind new parties which emerged and which offered some solution to the economic impasse. The result was the rapid growth of such "parties of protest" as the CCF in Saskatchewan and other parts of the West, and the Social Credit Party in Alberta.

In Quebec, however, resentment against economic conditions was coupled with a sense of grievance, real or imagined, against the English-speaking majority in Canada, an emphasis on the rights and prerogatives of French-Canadians, and an insistence on the maintenance of provincial rights against the federal authority. This nationalistic sentiment was, of course, intensified by the fact that in 1939 French

Canada was compelled to participate in a war about which it was not particularly enthusiastic. As a result, in Quebec, those groups whose dissatisfaction with prevailing conditions prompted them to desert the old parties, threw their support behind new parties which not only had a program of reform but were also intensely nationalistic and anti-war. Such parties of protest were Paul Gouin's Action Libérale Nationale in the 30's, and the Bloc Populaire which was formed during the war years.

If we keep in mind these basic factors underlying Quebec politics and then proceed to make a careful study of the program and policies advocated by the Union des Electeurs the reason for the growth of the movement at once becomes apparent. In its official program the party calls for payment of a dividend of \$20.00 per month to every citizen from the cradle to the grave, a pension of \$60.00 per month to every person over 60 years of age, a bonus of \$100.00 to parents on the birth of each child, elimination of government controls, and drastic reduction in income and other taxes. Furthermore, not only does the party take a strong stand on the issue of provincial autonomy, but during the war years it had a clear record of strong and vigorous opposition to conscription and the war effort. In other words, the Union des Electeurs possesses the two characteristic features of parties of protest in Quebec in that it not only has a program of economic reform but at the same time is a Nationalistic party.

The growth of the Union des Electeurs cannot be explained completely however merely in terms of the appeal its policies have for dissatisfied elements in the Quebec electorate. We must also take into consideration the missionary zeal of its followers, and the rather unique methods by which the party brings its arguments to the attention of the electorate.

In its campaign to win new followers for the movement the Union des Electeurs utilizes three different channels of propaganda; first, it vigorously pushes the sale of its bi-monthly paper, *Vers Demain*, secondly, it holds meetings at regular intervals in different parts of the province, and thirdly it uses the method of direct contact with the electorate by means of the door-to-door canvass.

For these purposes the party recruits large numbers of voluntary workers who are organized into a political elite called the Institute of Political Action. After a certain amount of training in the ideals and program of the movement these volunteers are divided into two categories, the "Defricheurs," (literally means "those who clear the land") and the "Vultigeurs" (means "light infantrymen"). The role of the Defricheurs is to prepare the ground for the work of the Vultigeurs by selling subscriptions to *Vers Demain*, thus acquainting the voters with the nature of the party's doctrines.

The Vultigeur is a more strongly disciplined and more efficiently trained type of party worker than the Defricheur. The Vultigeurs are referred to as "the heroes of the movement". Every Sunday they go forth in teams of varying size to different parts of a constituency to spread the gospel of the movement and to organize unions of electors. In each parish they hold a meeting, and then proceed to go from door to door to personally canvass everyone in the district.

The effectiveness of the tactics just outlined as a means of propagating the ideas of the party is self-evident. It is this combination of an efficient organization and a program which appeals to dissatisfied elements in the Quebec population which has enabled the Union des Electeurs to capture part of the protest vote in the province.

Having considered the reasons entering into the measure of success achieved by the Union des Electeurs up to now, there still remains the question as to the future role of the

new party in the rather confused pattern of Quebec politics. Here we must take into consideration the Bloc Populaire which up to the present time has been the main party of protest in the province. In this regard, there seems to be little doubt that as long as the Bloc remains a political force in Quebec the growth of the Union des Electeurs will be retarded. However, there are quite definite indications that in the past two years the Bloc has been in the process of disintegration. Just previous to the 1944 provincial election the party lost most of its left wing led by Paul Gouin. Between 1944 and 1946 other prominent members of the party drifted back to the Liberals, or went over to the Union Nationale. Since the 1945 federal election the party has been almost completely inactive and failed to enter candidates in either the Pontiac or Richelieu-Vercheres by-elections. If this process of disintegration continues there is no doubt that the Union des Electeurs will soon take over the role hitherto played by the Bloc as the major challenge to the domination of the old parties, that is the Liberals and the Union Nationale, as the Progressive Conservative party can no longer be considered a major party in Quebec.

Up to now we have only been considering the likelihood of the Union des Electeurs emerging as the main party of protest in Quebec politics. There is also the entirely different question as to the possibility of the Union des Electeurs gaining sufficient strength to defeat the old-line parties. This quite obviously will depend on the economic situation in the province. An extended period of prosperity would make it difficult for any party such as the Union des Electeurs or the Bloc Populaire to gain much ground, particularly in the provincial field where the Union Nationale is strongly entrenched. A severe depression however in the next few years with resultant economic unrest could not help but strengthen the following of the new parties. In other words, in the final analysis, the ability of the old parties to maintain their hold on the province will largely depend, as in other parts of Canada, on the nature of economic developments.

## Two Thousand Years of Preaching

The bearded figure sways like a tree in the blowing sand,  
Haggard and lean-shanked as a prisoner-of-war;  
Cries "Repent ye for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!"  
Draws up, like the sea in a cave, a deep murmur of awe.

Stock-still the circle stands, sick with nameless fear,  
Like children at the sight of death round a broken bird.  
Then suddenly it breaks like a bubble, scatters everywhere,  
Like the scarecrows of Dogpatch or the Gadarene herd.

The robed paunch bounces softly from the girdling zone  
Of the polished pulpit, like a small well-found ship  
Nuzzling her pier; and a rich, level tone  
Calls for a change of values, with pursed lip.

And the nicely-dressed, day-dreaming congregation  
Sits politely, simulating close attention;  
With husband and wife in neat alternation,  
And children doing things I will not mention.

Geoffrey Vivien.

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# Canadian Independence

J. L. Cohen

► THE DECISION of the Privy Council that the Parliament of Canada has the legal right to enact legislation establishing the Supreme Court of Canada as the final and ultimate Court of Appeal for any Canadian case, civil or criminal, is of great importance to the political and social development of Canada. It gives impetus to Canada's growing independence as a sovereign state and extends the legislative rights of the Dominion Parliament. But the decision creates many problems, political as well as legal, which will have to be dealt with.

In the first place, of course, the decision only establishes the right of the Dominion Parliament to pass legislation abolishing any right of appeal beyond the Supreme Court of Canada. Actually, no such legislation has yet been placed upon the statute books and if we are to judge by the statements of those who have, or who influence those who have, the authority to pass such legislation, any implementation of the ruling of the Privy Council may be delayed for some time.

About two years ago the Prime Minister made the typically ambiguous statement that he favored the abolition of appeals to the Privy Council "at an appropriate time." On the evening of January 15, just after the decision was announced, Mr. St. Laurent with equal statesmanlike generality stated that: "The appeals should not be abolished until a substantial majority wants it done. I am not in a position to say if a substantial majority exists at the present time," thus leaving the door wide open to a program either of enacting or not enacting the required dominion legislation, since the general term "substantial majority" was in no way defined. Certainly any political aggregation which may include Colonel Drew, Duplessis, and their associates offers no likelihood of implementing the decision. Newspapers such as *The Montreal Gazette*, *The Toronto Evening Telegram*, and *The Globe and Mail* have lost no time in attacking any proposed legislation, and the somewhat worldly *Saturday Night* closes its editorial on the subject with the statement that there is no hurry about the matter. There will be no failure to point out that the governments of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and British Columbia have taken a position against abolishing the right of appeal to the Privy Council. Quebec, of course, despite its anti-British attitude, has always found itself in the enigmatic position of looking to the British North America Act and the Privy Council for support of its special interests, and the financial and industrial interests of the country will have their own reasons for resisting any extension of the legislative powers of the Dominion Parliament. A "bloc" of these exponents of provincial as against dominion rights might be quite formidable.

It is not to be forgotten either that the Imperial Parliament, technically at least, can still legislate on the subject and reverse any Canadian legislative measure. It is hardly likely that any such reserve of legislative power would be exercised, but it is not impossible that the possession of such power by the Imperial Parliament will be used to influence, if not to exert pressure upon, those in Canada.

It need not be taken for granted, therefore, that the decision of the Privy Council will of itself bring the necessary implementary legislation. Public opinion will have to be organized and, probably, much strenuous effort will have to be exerted before the fruits of the Privy-Council decision will be enjoyed. The average member of the public will probably be far too complacent and will take it for granted that the necessary legislation will be passed as a matter of course.

On the other hand, it is already apparent that those interested in blocking any such legislation will be quite active.

Assuming, however, that legislation is enacted abolishing the right of appeal to the Privy Council, additional problems will present themselves. For one thing, the question will immediately arise as to the law or jurisprudence which is to govern decisions of the Supreme Court of Canada. This is particularly important in a country such as Canada, which has a combination of the so-called "written" and "unwritten" constitutions. Heretofore, the Supreme Court of Canada has considered itself bound by decisions of the Privy Council and, in a somewhat qualified sense, by decisions of the House of Lords. As to questions on which the Supreme Court of Canada has already ruled, it will probably take the view that the law has already been settled, but as to any questions which may arise, whether the question involves the interpretation of a statute or the application of common law, the Supreme Court of Canada will necessarily be obliged to develop its own jurisprudence.

We will probably find, therefore, that for at least a formative period the Supreme Court of Canada will be exerting an influence upon the development of Canada and thereby playing a political role in much the same way as did the Supreme Court of the United States in the earlier days of its activities, and as it does to some extent today. In that event, the Dominion Government will have a greater opportunity of influencing Canada's development, and as a logical result greater attention will be focussed upon the personnel of the Court. This will undoubtedly lead to a good deal of wire-pulling, if not controversy.

Certainly those who are interested in securing legislation abolishing the right of appeal to the Privy Council as a step toward strengthening the sovereignty and the central legislative power of the Dominion Parliament will have to be most alert, both as to open and more subtle opposition to legislation implementing the decision just announced.

Meantime, there is much in the Privy Council decision which can comfort those who have adopted the view that an adequate solution of Canada's problems can be better attained if the Dominion Parliament is given legislative authority over matters of national interest. While the recent decision does not deal directly with the question of the distribution of legislative powers between the dominion and the provinces, it does include passages which have an important bearing upon that central issue. Perhaps the most important passage in that respect is the judgment that "to such an organic statute (i.e., the B.N.A. Act) the flexible interpretation must be given that changing circumstances require."

That concept is a considerable advance upon the statement contained in one of the cases of 1937 when the Bennett "new deal" acts were declared to be "ultra vires," repudiating the argument that because the proposed legislation concerned "matters of such general importance as to have attained such dimensions as to have ceased to be merely local or provincial" it came within federal legislative authority. The contention was flatly rejected by the Privy Council, with sharp references to earlier cases in which unsuccessful attempts had also been made to argue federal and not provincial authority on such grounds as "abnormal circumstances," "exceptional conditions," or "standard of necessity." That proposition was rejected in 1937. Instead the Privy Council affirmed that the "legislative powers remain distributed" and that national action upon "matters of general importance" can only be effected by co-operation between the dominion and the provinces "in joint co-operative exercise of the legislative powers so distributed between them." The judgment closes with the unctuous and somewhat meaningless statement that "while the ship of state now sails on larger ventures and into foreign



waters, she still retains the watertight compartments *which are an essential part of her original structure.*"

The pronouncement in the recent decision that the B.N.A. Act is an "organic statute" and that it must be given the "flexible interpretation . . . that changing circumstances require" introduces a new formula, namely, that the effect of "changing circumstances" determines the interpretation and application of a statute. Such a development, coming so soon after it had been found necessary in 1940 to amend the B.N.A. Act by an Imperial Statute in order to vest the Dominion Parliament with legislative authority to enact the National Unemployment Insurance Act, augurs well for the constitutional development and independence of Canada.

Whatever may ultimately develop, this latest decision of the Privy Council is an important contribution to Canada's development. Nor should it be overlooked that the decision is important and timely, coming as it does just as Canada is exerting a more important role in world affairs directed toward establishing a more integrated world. If the decision of the Privy Council is fully implemented, Canada can secure, both for her needs and those of the world, greater self-integration, legally and politically, and thereby be better equipped to deal with matters of national, to say nothing of international, importance. That opportunity and its importance both in relation to Canadian and world affairs should not be treated idly. Canada has an opportunity, at last, of becoming a nation if she seizes the opportunity at once of enacting legislation giving effect to the powers which the Privy Council, at long last, has declared to be vested in the Dominion Parliament.

*Not by bunch or gloomy guess*

### FRITZ STERNBERG

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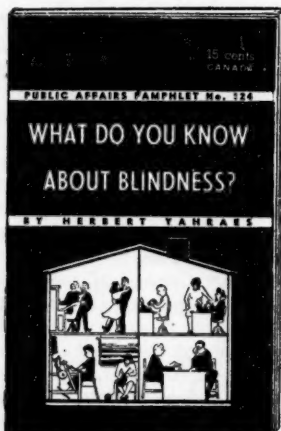
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## Scepticism

*An Open Letter to Dr. G. Brock Chisholm  
from J. D. Ketchum*

Dear Brock:

I see you've been sniping at poor old Santa Claus again. And in New York, of all places, where at Christmas time the jovial saint may be seen replenishing his benevolence in every mid-town bar. Do you realize the harm you're doing? Here's a small example. As the annual parade passed Hart House in November one of my third-year students said to me: "They ought to have a placard on Santa's back reading: 'By Special Permission of G. Brock Chisholm'." Doesn't that make you feel ashamed? Here was this clean-limbed young Canadian (at least, I assume they were clean) still in his twenties, just on the door-mat of maturity. Instead of gazing starry-eyed after the prancing reindeer as they detoured symbolically around the Legislature, he had been turned prematurely to a cynic, a jeering, disillusioned scoffer. And all through reading your speeches.

That's why you're getting this letter. I want you to lay off Santa Claus in 1947. You may find it amusing to take pot-shots at an old man who can't defend himself, and who presents, through no fault of his own, a somewhat wide target. But what you're actually doing is something far more dangerous, something that strikes at the very foundations of civilization. For scepticism is a kind of creeping paralysis; disbelief in Santa is only its first stage. A few more years, and that student of mine will have lost faith in everything—Elsie the Cow, Foreign Missions, the law of averages, *The Globe and Mail*—everything we have to cling to in these trying times.

What I want to bring home to you is that belief in Santa Claus is vital, not just for its own sake, but for the general attitude of life which grows out of it. This attitude is so essential to our present civilization that it deserves a special name, and I am calling it *scepticism*—a neat contraction of "Santa-Claus-optimism." Scepticism is an attitude of child-like expectancy, of happy trustfulness, toward life in general; it is, of course, diametrically opposed to scepticism. Weaken our scepticism (as your thoughtless attacks are bound to do) and you open the floodgates to a Frankenstein monster whose consuming fires will pierce the very heart of—well, you get my meaning.

Think of the economic importance of scepticism. The boy who hangs up his hockey stocking at Christmas, in simple faith that it will be filled by a kindly Santa Claus, is father to the man who will later invest in Val Nil mining stock with the same simple faith. Destroy the one belief and the other will die unborn, and then who will pay the taxes of all those Bay Street buildings? I have a neighbor who cynically throws into his furnace every circular sent him by mining brokers. He is not a desirable neighbor, and he still has to buy over a ton of coal each winter. Need I add that he has long since dropped the happy custom of writing an annual letter to Santa Claus? Multiply that man by thousands, as you are doing, and where shall we be? Or take the throngs of women who fight for tickets to "Share the Wealth" and the other programs which are doing so much to stave off an economic recession. Would any of them be there if they had not been brought up to believe in Santa Claus and led on to an eager and unquestioning scepticism? No, they would be sitting drably at home, ruining their eyesight with darning or corroding their dentures with highballs. These examples may seem trivial, but there would be nothing trivial about the collapse of our economic system. And what is it built on but venture capital and wide distribution of wealth? Indeed, scepticism may be said to lie at the root of the

Profit Motive itself—the one instinct which man, made in the divine image, does not share with the lower animals. There is a thought which should give you pause.

Santa Claus, however, does not hand out gifts at random; he rewards the docile child and punishes the disobedient. Scoptimism thus has moral aspects even more important than its economic ones. I need not stress the fact that belief in someone who rewards good and punishes evil is the sole basis of morality; the figures speak for themselves. At the 1941 Dominion Census, 98.6 per cent of the inmates of our federal penitentiaries reported that they had lost their faith in Santa Claus; only 1.4 per cent were still believers. Cause and effect could scarcely be more clearly demonstrated. (In our mental hospitals, curiously enough, the figures are almost reversed, but I have no time to go into that.) And what of the thousands of ordinary citizens who lead good lives without government subsistence? Think, for instance, of the scattering of boys and girls in my classes who steadfastly refrain from smoking, drinking, swearing, dancing, and betting on horse races in spite of the taunts of their play-fellows. What sustains them except an undaunted belief that unpopularity here will be more than outweighed by dizzy popularity in Another Place? And this belief, indispensable to morality, can be traced right back to Santa Claus. Those who try to undermine it are laying the fuse to a cesspool of iniquity by whose tentacles the light of virtue will be trodden under foot. Repeat that to yourself when you are tempted to make another speech.

Finally, Santa Claus is wise, he *knows*. He gives us what is best for us and we do not question his decisions. How easily and naturally children reared to believe in him develop that crowning aspect of scoptimism—unwavering faith in Our Leaders, in those who know best. Nothing is more characteristic of cynical youth today than their tendency to criticize everything, to disparage the wisdom of our statesmen, educationists, bankers, the heads of great industrial enterprises, even of religious bodies. Surely those who have made our country what it is have a right to our fullest trust; without that, what encouragement would they have to carry on? Fortunately, however, the poison of mistrust has not yet seeped through the whole population. The modest number of voters who turn out for elections shows that the great heart of our people is still sound; they have not lost their scoptimism, they realize that matters are in good hands.

None the less, your attacks can only strengthen that subversive minority which is for ever assailing the wisdom of our rulers, doubting this, questioning that, imputing motives and plans where none whatever exist. Can't you see that scoptimism is our only defence against this sort of thing? Won't you turn your talents to cultivating it instead of destroying it? After all, we *must* believe in Santa Claus; who else is it who assures us that everything will turn out all right in the end, that the CIO will never gain a foothold in Ontario, that the butter ration will not be cut, that the CCF is on the way out, that Britain will always win the last battle? We must believe in Santa Claus, we must believe that *somebody* will put Stalin in his place, settle industrial unrest, solve Toronto's parking problems, build some houses for veterans, forestall another depression, prevent another war. These are the faiths by which men live. Destroy them, and we might as well commit suicide—unless we adopt the desperate expedient of doing something about it ourselves. And I think that even you would hesitate to urge so un-Canadian a solution as that.

Still, I trust, your friend,

DAVE KETCHUM.

## Recordings

### Philip Freedman

► IT IS ABOUT TIME that somebody took notice of the services rendered by the men who select the new records for Canadian release. Their recent choices are especially worthy of praise. They have taken pains to see that no music of sufficient depth to provoke any emotions whatever should reach us in these times when there are so many other disturbing aspects of life. But for their watchfulness, who can tell how many Canadian music-lovers would have been driven to despair by comparison of the nobleness of a Beethoven quartet with the greed and spite that surround us? To what should we have turned had not Victor given us Jeanette MacDonald to sing our cares away with the new album called "Operetta Favorites"?

The men at Columbia have also seen the danger and shielded the public from direct contact with the thoughts of the masters. You might think it pretty radical of them to release an album of piano music by Chopin (Columbia—\$5.00). But there is nothing to fear. Oscar Levant plays Chopin with such shocking insensitiveness that no one will be moved except those who just loved the film, *A Song to Remember*. Columbia has made sure that all of the ten or so pieces in the album are among the most familiar of the composer's works. The title of this album is "Levant Plays Chopin."

This fine devotion to the mental ease of the people must have prompted the choice of Grieg's particularly uninspired "Symphonic Dances, Opus 54" (Victor, DM 1006—\$5.05). The Norwegian folk songs on which the work is based are often enchanting in themselves, but they are not hardy enough to withstand the heavy-handed manner in which Grieg drives them through classical forms. Nor can they carry the thick coating of romantic treacle with which the composer smothers them. The performance is by the Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra under Fabien Sevitsky. For a man who claims to belong to the "ever-faithful" school of conductors, he allows the orchestra to get away with a surprising number of inconsistencies in tempo.

On listening to the album of "Russian Operatic Arias," sung by Alexander Kipnis (Victor M 1073—\$5.05), I was struck by the fact that there has been a new evaluation of what we consider beautiful and artistic in singing. What was regarded a few years ago as reasonable rubato is now looked upon as unjustified liberty with time values. Those outbursts which were considered dramatically effective are now felt to be of doubtful musical taste. What used to be called "singing with expression" is now plain hamming. Kipnis lives up to this outdated concept of a good singer. He sings arias from operas by Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin and Moussorgsky, in thick Russian and with plenty of defamation. Whether or not you like the album will depend on the style of singing you prefer.

The most important of this month's releases is a single disc recording of Die Meistersinger Prelude played by Arturo Toscanini and the N.B.C. Symphony Orchestra. It is one of the few Toscanini records with clear, spacious sound and as such it deserves to be kept as an example of the great man's work. The older Columbia recording of this work with Sir Thomas Beecham is also excellent, and prospective buyers should listen to both.

It should be added that all of this month's records are considerably better technically than last month's. The fuzziness of the inner grooves is still very bad, but the rest of the discs are remarkably clear.

## Film Review

D. Mosdell

► ONE THING that a slick, handsome production like Alfred Hitchcock's *Notorious* does is to make you wonder fleetingly what international intrigue is really like, and what kind of lives international agents lead, anyway. Our own national investigations seem to indicate that agents of that sort are earnest, mousy people with conveniently unmemorable faces, operating with power and money behind them, perhaps, but with quiet, middle-class respectability written all over them. What, if anything, connects them with the traditional, top-hatted, morning-coated diplomatic service; why are they so sheepishly tongue-tied when "unmasked"—no shrugs, no epigrams, no brilliant last-minute juggling with documents, no sensational suicides in high places? This is the kind of query that the earlier Hitchcock would have been delighted to work on; lately, however, he seems contented enough to ring the changes on stock plots and characters, to give us only the incredible vagaries and the flamboyant indiscretions of the wealthy international set in Miami and points south.

Not that *Notorious* is precisely a dull picture; but we have seen so many of its kind lately that even Hitchcock's superior bag of tricks does very little to retard the inevitable functioning of the law of diminishing returns. Either because the *Casablanca* cycle of movies has left us blasé, glutted with the type, or because Hitchcock himself has slipped into a rut, *Notorious* seems to lack pace, and there are fewer and fewer than ever of those little clutching moments of excitement and recognition which made, say, *The Lady Vanishes* the kind of movie that is remembered and discussed years after it has disappeared from the local houses. Something seems to have happened to the dialogue, too; no irony, no wit, and only one small laugh near the beginning—Ingrid Bergman says to Cary Grant: "My car is outside"; "Naturally," he answers. From then on they take themselves and their pleasures with a heavy seriousness which suits Bergman's talents very well, but leaves Gary Grant with very little to do but fold his arms and look ominous—a sad waste of an actor with a very pretty talent for verbal comedy and the most expressive spine in Hollywood.

Claude Rains plays what I am sure is intended to be an unsympathetic role; he is Alexander Sebastian, German representative for the I. G. Farben company in Rio de Janeiro. In Europe in the old days he had been an associate of Bergman's Nazi father, and, naturally, one of her many suitors. They meet again in Rio, and Sebastian marries her, assuming that her politics are sound, since her father has just been caught and executed, or rather has committed suicide, as a traitor in the United States. When he finds out that he has in reality married an American agent (and about here there are holes in the plot you could drive a truck through), he calmly arranges to poison her. Only the kindly offices of the script writer intervene to prevent a very well-planned execution; she is rescued by Cary Grant, still looking ominous, and Sebastian, suspected immediately by his clever associates, watches the two of them drive away and returns to his own summary execution by his own colleagues.

Unfortunately it is difficult not to find Rains' baggy-eyed, shrewd-face villainy more interesting, and therefore more sympathetic, than the virtue of Cary Grant and his large, bleak American superiors, one of whom spends a great part of his time lying on a hotel bed eating crackers and peanut butter. Besides, any hero who lets romantic considerations prevent his being efficient at the job he is assigned is likely to look foolish and unintelligent beside the villain, whose lack of morals (contrary to observable fact) often is accom-

panied by a stern disregard of sentimentality. The good are often simple and stupid, and the wicked complex and clever. It is, I suppose, no wonder that we have in real life such difficulty with international intrigue; and it is presumably too late to hope for a divine script-writer who will step in and adjust the balance. We can only cultivate sharper wits and a more realistic attitude—the epigram, the shrug, and the adroit juggling of documents.

## A Winter Evening in A Prairie Home

In the spell of winter's night,  
The snowflakes flicker as they fall  
Before a lamplit window,  
Settling down their fluffiness  
Like hair's fur upon the world.  
As if in dream, the folks,  
Sit around inside the house,  
Shouting over the blare of radio,  
Whispering through its silence. . . .  
And everyone knows that  
This laughter or this seriousness  
Shall be lost suddenly in the night.  
Only the smoke, rising from a chimney,  
Always remains a startling reality  
Of prairie warmth and life,  
And of solemn expectation  
That colds and blizzards are more fierce  
In the daytime.

William Conklin.

## Now the Fog

Eerie as a seashell's sound  
Comes the waves' insistent pound.  
From afar and out of focus  
Bursts the gull's cry, bare and raucous.  
Creeps the snipe's tweet, thin and hollow.  
In fog-mire the senses wallow,  
Thrusting feelers through the blur  
To tentacle strange things that stir.

In this jungle of the fog,  
Lest you trip on stone and log,  
Lest you stumble in morass  
That yesterday was shining grass,  
Lest in vain your groping hands  
Clutch the swaying mossy strands  
Of mist, suspended from no bough  
In this thick impalpable now,  
Let the truth companion you,  
Swing its splendid lantern through  
This vapory photoplasmic gloom  
Where unsubstantial monsters loom.

Only truth can penetrate  
Ancient twisted vines of hate  
And matted jungle. Free of fear,  
Truth can bound the now and here,  
Leap unfathomable bars  
To the white fire of the stars,  
To the gold fire of the sun.  
Fog today—tomorrow none!

Myrtle Reynolds Adams



## TURNING NEW LEAVES

► PROFESSOR NORTHPROP'S ambitious attempt\* to provide a philosophical basis for the union of Eastern and Western thought has attracted a good deal of attention. It is the work of an average but active intelligence, well informed on its own subject, which is philosophy; and though his grasp of history and art is less sure, it would be a very unusual erudition indeed which could derive no profit from all the information he provides about causation in Aristotle, the person in St. Thomas, the metaphysical assumptions underlying Renaissance science and the way that nuclear physics has affected them, the relation between Oriental philosophy and art, and the place of Mexico in the contemporary scene. The real value of the book is, I think, as a quarry of such information, and the fact that I find its thesis inconclusive does not, for me, affect that value. The style is a lecturer's style, ranging from lucid exposition to a habit of wordy repetitiveness doubtless acquired from watching difficult ideas bounce off the faces of sleepy undergraduates.

The author quotes a Mexican writer as saying that American civilization is Utopian in shape. The postulates of American democracy are, on a social and moral plane, both admirable in their idealism and practicable in their application; but above that plane certain limitations begin to appear. The principles of the American constitution do not provide a cultural synthesis comprehensive enough to make an integral place for, in particular, the arts, philosophy and religion. There is unity in American civilization; there is not enough in its culture. In American education the various subjects of study are autonomous and separate, the central principles common to them being lost; American taste in the arts inclines either to the highbrow and insulated, or the lowbrow and barbarous; and the God in whom American coins trust is a vague haze of benignant morality.

Hence for many American thinkers today the gigantic synthesis of religion, philosophy, science and politics achieved in the Middle Ages looms up in front of them like an intellectual Utopia which complements that of their own moral idealism. American magazines and books are thickly strewn with admiring references to Aristotle, St. Thomas, the seven liberal arts and the medieval preservation of personal values, and of deprecatory ones to the cult of self-analysis, the dehumanizing of the individual, and the centrifugal movements in politics and science which came with the Renaissance, and sent us all skittering down the butterslide of introversion into our present Iron Age. It is an idea which should be left to Catholics, who know what they want to do with it; writers who have got a phallic father or something identified with what they call the "Puritan tradition" are apt to develop a sloppy habit of comparing the theory of Catholicism with the practice of Protestantism.

Professor Northrop takes over from there. He feels that the Thomist synthesis is too full of fictions to serve for what he feels is required today, in a world which contains Russian Communism and the cultural traditions of China and India in addition to the great variety nearer home. To provide a basis for global understanding, we need a super-synthesis in which the two major elements will be a Western-democratic-scientific complex on the one hand, and an Eastern-contemplative-aesthetic complex on the other. (Russia will not be the meat in this sandwich: the author has written an article called "Impossibility of a Theoretical Science of Economic Dynamics," and has the usual academic-liberal view of Marxism.) He says that there is a unity in

Eastern thought, and in Western thought; that these differ from one another, but are reconcilable. The fundamental datum of Eastern thought is an immediate apprehension of experience as a totality; that of the West, a theoretical construction made from experience which represents and makes intelligible its reality. The author calls the former (I think inadvisedly) an "aesthetic" and the latter a "theoretic" approach. He feels that we can reconcile them by realizing that both actually exist simultaneously in all experience whether Western or Eastern as a direct two-term relationship, as, for instance, "blue" exists both as a pretty color and as a light wave with a certain rate of vibration. This gets rid of the common Western fallacy of regarding the pretty color as a subjective illusion thrown up by the theoretic word, a "secondary quality" at one remove from reality.

Philosophers will have to decide on the value of this suggestion; its social and political importance, which the author is very keen on, seems to me rather doubtful. I am not sure that "mutual understanding" necessarily makes for better relations. Ten years ago, the people who best understood Nazism were those who most wanted to fight it. Today, Russians can see the drift of American imperialism far more clearly than Americans themselves, and vice versa. Tomorrow, it may well be better for Christians to believe that Mohammedans worship an idol called Mahound than to send them educated missionaries to explain that their theism should be "softened down" and "take on more of the open-mindedness of Hinduism," as our author urges. Besides, achieving "one world" involves first economic unity, secondly the pooling of scientific techniques, and thirdly political unity. When this is done it will be found that wars are no more caused by conflicts in cultural traditions than thunderstorms are caused by clouds bumping together. It is a false analogy to say that because we should surrender national sovereignty we should also give up our language and all its literary possibilities for some dismal idiomless Esperanto; and I think that religion, philosophy and the arts, which latter are as dependent on locale as a fine wine, are involved in that false analogy. There is no earthly reason why the world should be culturally federalized; in the USSR economic and political federation is counterbalanced by regional developments of culture, which seems to me to make sense. Chinese painting, for example, will influence Western painting purely through its merits as painting, not through any Western attempt to understand Chinese cultural traditions for political reasons.

An Easterner might say that reconciling an aesthetic with a theoretic component of thought is itself a theoretic project, so that to reconcile them on these terms is really to annihilate the Eastern direct apprehension by absorbing it into a Western theory about its "place" in a still larger apprehension. The author says: "the specific relation between the aesthetic and theoretic components must be determined, thereby permitting the newly formulated world philosophy to specify the theoretical criterion by means of which the two differing cultures . . . can be combined." The word "theoretical" in this sentence suggests Western. The author quotes Laotze as saying "the sage embraces oneness," but surely Laotze does not mean by "oneness" something to be "reconciled" to what by hypothesis is something else. He is not talking about a mode of apprehension but about total identification; he is not simply throwing an epigram on a philosophical ammunition dump, but hinting at a vision as far beyond the merely aesthetic or emotional (the author rather recklessly associates these words) as it is beyond the merely intellectual. I imagine that whenever an Oriental philosopher tries to tell us about his Tao, his Citta, his Nirvana or his Brahman, he is also telling us, in Eastern language, that an intellectual and cultural synthesis which

\*THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST: F. S. C. Northrop; Macmillan; pp. 531; \$6.00.

gets everything in, and reconciles everyone with everyone else, is an attempt to rebuild the Tower of Babel, and will lead to confusion of utterance. He may be wrong, but Professor Northrop will never catch him in his made-in-U.S.A. net, however skillfully he throws it.

NORTHROP FRYE.

## BOOKS REVIEWED

THE COMING CRISIS: Fritz Sternberg; Longmans, Green & Co.; pp. 280; \$4.00.

The return to economics proceeds apace and there are even indications that someone will soon discover Marx. The usual cyclical revival would appear to be in the offing. For that matter Mr. Sternberg also makes use of Marx. He uses his general economic analysis as the basis for his prediction of the coming crisis, but at the same time he emphasizes what he considers the basic error in the Marx-Lenin predictions. This briefly revolves around the time when social revolution might take place or be expected. Mr. Sternberg goes to some pains to show that imperialist expansion defeated the prophets of doom and that the working-class on the whole gained by this extension of capitalism. They did not sink into a more desperate proletarianism. The industrialized countries experienced a rising standard of living which revealed itself in political illusions rather than in dreams of revolt.

Even so all that Marx can be charged with is seeing the future too soon, for as noted now it is Mr. Sternberg who sees the doom of capitalism. He makes an intelligent survey of the factors leading to such a conclusion and this carries him from a discussion of the merely economic difficulties facing the world to what might be called a confluence of the political and social elements that are now visible or in the act of emerging. For example, he shows the rise of the Soviet Union and he estimates that in the near future, together with its satellites, it will control 20 per cent of world production. This will give it an enormously enhanced position over its pre-war status and at the same time offer some challenge to the United States which is responsible for over 50 per cent of world production. Moreover, rival ideologies must not only seek to fill the vacuums which have arisen in Germany and Japan. The colonial peoples are also seeking a new social philosophy to replace their former imperialisms. Thus at every turn there is a new relation of forces which holds the possibilities of new conflict. Mr. Sternberg summarizes the shifting relationships and shows the changes that have taken place since 1929 to the present day and in what manner they are decisive.

Although he surveys the world it is the United States which is the centre of the author's calculations. He emphasizes the monopoly capitalist nature of the economy and indicates how the coming crisis in that country could set in motion forces leading to war. Mr. Sternberg sees the danger of what he calls a system of American "Wehrwirtschaft." That is to say, monopoly capital would seek a reactionary solution to the economic crisis by undertaking an immense production of war materials and the setting up of a war economy. It is obvious what danger this would lead to. In short, this analysis shows only too clearly that fascism and war arise out of the difficulties of monopoly capital and are not symptoms of some peculiar national or mental blight. This is an excellent book for discussion groups, as well as for the individual, by reason of its wide range and its integrated approach. There is something for everyone to get his teeth into and argue about, which means that it is alive and readable and meaty.

E. A. Beder.

MAPLE LEAF UP MAPLE LEAF DOWN: Peter Simonds; S. J. Reginald Saunders; pp. 456; \$4.00.

*Maple Leaf Up Maple Leaf Down*, an account of the Canadian army in World War II, is a latecomer in the field, but Captain Simonds' name (he is the brother of Lt.-Gen. G. G. Simonds, one of Canada's senior field commanders) will attract attention to it in the hope that it will contain new information on some of the interesting obscurities of the war. Captain Simonds, indeed, suggests that this relationship has been of service to him in writing the book, and does comment on some matters of continuing concern to Canadians.

The Permanent Force, for example, is said to have been an unsound nucleus for the field army, and even to have contained a substantial number of officers who deliberately attempted to discredit Mr. King and alienate the troops from their government. The Dieppe operation is blamed both in conception and execution: the General Staff is accused of failing to understand, in spite of abundant preliminary evidence, that such an operation required a flexible rather than a rigid plan, and Maj.-Gen. Roberts, the commander of the operation, is accused of stolidly adhering to the preconceived plan when a bold redeployment of his resources might have restored a deteriorating situation. The undermining of General McNaughton's position as Army Commander is attributed to the failure of certain equipment designed and produced under his sponsorship, to the unsatisfactory Canadian performance in the mammoth Exercise Spartan, to the War Office's belief that he was too rigid a planner to fight an army successfully in a war of motion, and above all to his excessive Canadian nationalism and his determination to maintain the unity of the Canadian army even against the requirements of the strategic situation. A difference is said to have developed between General Crerar and Lt.-Gen. Simonds over the best way to attack the enemy's positions in the Scheldt Estuary. The retirement of Maj.-Gen. Kitching from the command of the 4th Armored Division and his demotion to the rank of brigadier is said to have been caused by his over-cautious employment of the division in one phase of the Falaise fighting.

The book, however, is very uneven, and includes errors of judgment which (coming, as they do, even after the event) undermine the reader's confidence. To make a choice: German military equipment is said to have been years behind that of the Allies; the proof offered is that the enemy employed obsolete Bren carriers captured at Dunkirk, as well as a good deal of "pathetic" horse-drawn equipment. It is of course true that if the enemy had used these inefficient carriers as first-line weapons he would have been admitting the backwardness of his own design; but using them (as he did) merely as a cost-free supplement to his own equipment constituted intelligent exploitation of captured *materiel*. And the sneer at horse-drawn equipment reveals that Captain Simonds employs a wholly inapplicable criterion for military equipment: modernity. The true criterion is obviously suitability. In situations where speed is not important, and petrol and hard-surface road-space is at a premium (and such situations often obtain in defensive warfare), horse-drawn transport is clearly more desirable than mechanized transport. For use in mobile situations the Germans had mechanized transport, and extremely good it was too; they did not have enough of it, but that is a criticism of the quantity of their industrial output, not of the quality of their design.

The chronicle of operations is often perfunctory where it should be detailed, and elaborate where a quick summary would suffice; and it contains far too many inaccuracies. The writing (perhaps not the worst test of the author's clarity and precision) is amazingly weak and confused. These criticisms, however, do not necessarily invalidate Cap-



tain Simonds' comments; they do serve to make more important the question of what help (if any) he obtained from his brother, the corps commander; such portions of the book would be exempt from the suspicion of weak military judgment. This is a speculation, however, which is unlikely to secure an early answer; General Simonds is known to be preparing a book of his own about Canadian field operations, but since he remains on active service his book is not likely to go beyond purely military analysis. *E. Sirluck.*

**TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT IN CANADA;** C. Cecil Lingard; University of Toronto Press; pp. xi, 269; \$3.00.

Most eastern Canadians have forgotten, if they ever knew, that our North-West Territories had to fight a battle for full self-government which went through very much the same stages as the earlier battle which the British North American colonies fought for their self-government. The imperial power at Ottawa, representing the metropolitan forces of Ontario and Quebec, showed in fact considerably less sympathy and imagination in dealing with the aspirations of its dependent colonies in the west than had been shown by the much abused Colonial Office in Victorian days. Mr. Lingard tells here the story of how the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan came into being in the early years of the twentieth century. The hero of his story is Premier Haultain of the Territories. He gives a very full account of the main issues, financial and educational, but always sums up in favor of the stand that Haultain had taken. Except on the question whether there should be one or two provinces, it is difficult to see how he could conclude otherwise. The struggle over the separate school question is very fully treated, and the Laurier government does not emerge with any greater credit than is assigned to it in well-known earlier discussions by Dafoe and Willison. Mr. Lingard's book suffers sometimes from undue repetition, but it provides an authoritative analysis of an important development in our national history. *F.H.U.*

**EDUCATION FOR TOMORROW:** edited with an introduction by Richard M. Saunders; University of Toronto Press; pp. 130; \$2.00.

"With a sense of the urgency of the educational crisis" the Committee Representing the Teaching Staff of the University of Toronto organized the series of lectures which constitute this volume. Since the end of World War I schools and colleges have been subjected to unusual pressure by social and economic forces and distracted by the conflicting ideas of those who have sought to accelerate or reverse the movements in education so produced. Clearly the period following World War II should be one of synthesis. There should be willingness to accept ingredients that are necessary and desirable from a variety of sources, provided only that they are compatible with that respect for truth and for the dignity and self-determination of men which must be increasingly evident in a good social order. The lectures in this series, and President Sidney E. Smith's installation lecture, which is included with them, all help in some way to prepare for such a synthesis.

Mrs. E. M. Kirkwood emphasizes what cannot be over-emphasized: the need for teachers of high quality and deep understanding. Dr. J. G. Althouse shows that administrative organization can be flexible and adaptable to particular needs and new purposes. Mr. Joseph McCulley illustrates the vitality that comes to education through an awareness of social implications. Principal W. R. Taylor not only stresses the value of general education but insists that it must give a "unifying cultural principle" to human life. Dr. E. A. Corbett demonstrates convincingly that adult education must be free from regimentation and acceptable to the individual and the group as a means to a more abundant life. Professor

Hardolph Wasteneys advocates humanism in education and approves the tendency to make general education a pre-requisite of professional training. Mr. Aurele Seguin describes the development of one of the newer aids to teaching and learning—educational radio. Professor Adrian MacDonald gives a lucid and useful account of the changing content and methodology of education. President Smith's address, which serves as a fitting conclusion raises pertinent questions like the following: "Are not the Arts Faculties in Canadian Universities in some instances, concerned with professional or quasi professional objectives to the detriment of their major mission of developing students who will be defenders of human freedom, examples of human dignity, and apostles of human values?"

The text and appearance of the book are a credit to the editor and the printers. *C. E. P.*

**CONSIDER HER WAYS:** Frederick Philip Grove; Macmillan; pp. xxxii and 298; \$2.75.

Friends of Frederick Philip Grove have known for some years of the existence of the manuscript of this novel, and it is symptomatic of the growth of public interest in his work that it is now brought out in a regular trade edition. It is an interesting addition to the Grove canon; it does not, in my opinion, add much to the stature of his reputation, but it broadens its base by revealing a hitherto undisclosed talent for wit, fantasy, and satire.

Here is not the record of unremitting toil on the Canadian prairies, but of a scientific expedition despatched to the North American continent by a highly civilized colony of ants in Venezuela. The record is ostensibly written by the leader of the survey party, Wawa-Quee, a venerable scholar-ant of infinite wisdom and patience. Her observations on the civilizations of her fellow-ants in North America and of Man run the gamut from pure farce (as when she climbs and

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**E. T. OWEN**

Professor of Greek, University College, Toronto

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bites the leg of a beautiful female Man in the New York Public Library) to speculative philosophy (as when she ponders the question of the limits of knowledge and of the ends of science and art). The basic matter of the book is satire at Man's expense—his pride, destructiveness, cruelty, materialism, greed, wastefulness, bellicosity, and general irrationality. Variety is attained by interweaving direct and indirect satire: sometimes the points are made by an account of human activities, sometimes by an account of the ways of strange colonies of ants which in certain respects clearly resemble Man.

The book is in many ways a literary curiosity. To what genre does it belong? To call it a novel is simply to reveal the paucity of our critical vocabulary in respect of prose. It has affiliations with the animal fable of antiquity, with the imaginary travel satires of Swift and Butler, and with such prose allegories as Melville's *Moby Dick*. Of these it is perhaps closest to *Gulliver's Travels*, in both method and substance. The method is similar in that the satiric effect is achieved largely by a violent change of scale and perspective: human traits transferred to the tiny and become ridiculous in true Lilliputian fashion. The similarity of substance is obvious if one compares the list of things which the two writers attack, and note their joint concentration upon pride.

What this book lacks, however, in comparison with *Gulliver's Travels*, is chiefly a clearly discernible positive norm. There are hints of it in the account of the tribe of ants to which Wawa-Queen belongs: a community which elevates the scholar over the soldier, which pursues knowledge for its own sake rather than for power, and which is fully communistic in its economic organization—but they fall short of the proportion and particularity of Swift's account of the Houyhnhms. What the book has in abundance, however, is erudition. Readers of Grove's first volumes, *Over Prairie Trails* and *The Turn of the Year*, will recall his interest in plant and animal life. The results of that interest are still more manifest here: his knowledge of entomology, botany, geography, anthropology, geology, and philosophy is evidently wide and, as far as I can judge (which is admittedly not very far), accurate.

Different as the novel is from those of the prairie series, it nevertheless has Grove's unmistakable stamp upon it. The central character, Wawa-Queen, is, in her tenacity and integrity, the ant-counterpart of characters like Abe Spalding and John Elliott Senior; tragic accidents beset the expedition and lead the ants to speculate upon the futility of all endeavor; one of the ants remarks upon "the sorry plight of all ant-life on earth, in the face of a hostile barrenness of nature." (Of course there is a deliberate ironic tinge to all this: Grove is showing a perhaps unsuspected capacity for making fun of himself.)

It is an extremely difficult book upon which to pronounce a neat and summary critical verdict. It puzzles, irritates, and fascinates by turn. It is a subtle and intricate book which does not readily yield its full implications. Many will impatiently put it aside as a bizarre example of misapplied ingenuity. All I can say is that each time I have read it I have seen more things in it to admire and less to decry. It does not by any means give a full, final, and immediate satisfaction; but it gives one plenty to chew on.

Desmond Pacey.

THE YEAR OF STALINGRAD: Alexander Werth; Munson; pp. xviii, 478; \$4.00.

Alexander Werth opens this volume with an account of his experience in a convoy to Murmansk; he closes it with a description of his visit to newly-liberated Stalingrad some eight months later. These two place-names are enough in themselves to evoke the atmosphere of one of the tensest

and most critical periods of the war. It was the year when the German tide of conquest reached its peak, when Hitler's forces surged deep into the Caucasus and were almost within sight of the Nile, when Russian resistance was strained almost to the limit and the problem of the Second Front loomed with the utmost urgency. By the end of the year the tide had turned and the initiative had passed permanently to the Allies, but only after desperate and tragic months whose greatest weight fell on the Soviet Union.

As a journalist in Moscow, and in spite of the limitations attached to that position, Mr. Werth stood close to great events, and he writes about them as a contemporary witness who has a lively sense of historical values. The broad range of his interests makes his book panoramic in its scope. There is much informative material on the course of military operations. There is a good deal of attention to the attitude of the Moscow press toward various developments, and to the rather devious propaganda line of the Soviet authorities during this critical time. There is a recurrent emphasis on the food situation; and sidelights on Russian literary and musical events stand side by side with accounts of German outrages in the conquered regions and vivid glimpses of the varying attitudes of captured Germans. Taken as a whole, the volume creates an alive and pulsing picture of a nation surviving under stress.

The very fact that the author's experiences, for all their range and variety, touch only a limited segment of Russian wartime life, only adds to the impact of his narrative. He has the art of suggesting the broader background, and of making his account of a simple incident a suggestive and illuminating commentary on a whole phase of the Russian war effort. His reporting is by no means uncritical. The undercurrent of suspicion in high Soviet quarters which found expression in recriminations over the second front, the dogmatic rigidity of some Soviet thinking on foreign affairs, the comparative ignorance on the part of Russians in general about the outside world, are phenomena which he finds disturbing. But the main effect of this book is to recall with heightened vividness the heroic side of the Russian people as a whole in the hour of their greatest trial, and to revive one's admiration for a nation which could absorb such shattering blows and still strike back in the fashion which, at Stalingrad, was the prelude to ultimate victory. *Edgar McInnis*

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE CONTROL OF ATOMIC ENERGY: United Nations (Department of Public Information) Lake Success, N.Y., 1946; pp. 42; 25c.

This pamphlet provides the complete text of the Report of the Scientific and Technical Committee of the Atomic Energy Commission, and makes it more understandable for the layman by the addition of background material and a glossary of technical terms. Before attempting to find out if the international control of atomic energy is politically feasible the Atomic Energy Commission had to know whether or not it was possible from a technical standpoint. A committee was set up to look into the question, and this is their report. The pamphlet provides simple explanations of the

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### Casualty

By ROBERT LOWRY. This novel by a brilliant young American writer is the story of soldiers caught in the confused system of personal ambition, resentment of rank, and moral inertia that grips men cut off from their own world. There is no bluffness in the book, no feeling of camaraderie among the characters. It is a story of a great coldness and of man's inhumanity to man. NEWSWEEK says of it: "Tough, honest and well-written. Lowry's picture . . . is a bitter thing. This little novel really packs a punch."

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Jonathan David, 1501 St. Catherine Street W., Montreal

steps in producing atomic energy, from the mining and refining of the radioactive fuels to the white flash which tells you that your day is done. The report does not shirk the fact that there are many difficulties facing the technical control of atomic energy, and even the possibility of atomic energy without uranium is mentioned as a future development. The conclusion is that technologically the international control of atomic energy is feasible, and that methods can be devised to prevent the diversion of atomic fuels for the secret manufacture of atomic bombs. But the authors are careful to point out that they have considered only the technical possibility of atomic power controls. The question of whether or not such controls are politically possible is left unanswered.

J. J. Brown

EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON: Yvor Winters; Jonathon David (New Directions); pp. 162; \$2.50.

Yvor Winters, a poet, critic and teacher, with an influence in all three capacities far greater than is often realized, has written a book on Robinson, fitting him into the neo-classical pattern, of which in *Primitivism and Decadence* and *The Anatomy of Nonsense*, he has been such an enthusiastic exponent. As a further aspect of Winters' aesthetic, the book is extremely interesting; by itself, it is less successful. As an account of Robinson's poems it is designed neither for the beginner nor for the Robinson scholar, and will satisfy neither. It is by turns naive and erudite. As an account of Winters' aesthetic it will be inadequate to any one who is not already familiar with the previous works. Winters has given us in the past some fresh and penetrating analyses of American poetry (see, for example, the chapter on Emily Dickinson in *Maule's Curse*, or the devastating attack on Eliot in *The Anatomy of Nonsense*); his present book is less rewarding.

Milton Wilson.

SINGING WATERS: Ann Bridge; Chatto & Windus; pp. 320; \$3.00.

This novel presents a solution for the ills of poor European countries such as Albania. In order to cope with the flies and dirt and yet preserve the noble savage quality of the people from extinction, industry as introduced to bring wealth to the country must not be centralized. "And if such a distribution of industry did shave a fraction off profits, is it not now time that the human race started to consider what production is for? Should we not think in terms of human well-beings as well as in terms of shareholders?"

The joints of this book are as obvious as the choice of the name Gloire for the glamorous heroine who emerges, not with a husband in the person of the man who put Albania in her bonnet, but as the advance messenger of savior America. Had it been written with the pleasurable ease of one of the author's preceding novels, *Illyrian Spring*, the sugar coat would have fit better over the didacticism.

Lois Darroch Milani.

CHARTERS OF OUR FREEDOM; Reginald G. Trotter; Ginn & Co.; pp. vi, 138; \$2.00.

This is a beautifully produced volume containing the texts or extracts from the texts of Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, the Ordinance for Virginia of 1621, the Mayflower Compact, Lord Durham's Report, the B.N.A. Act, the Statute of Westminster and the Atlantic Charter. Professor Trotter of Queen's has written admirable short introductions to each document. One's only complaint can be as to the cost of the volume which will prevent it from being circulated in the large quantities which a collection of such documents deserves.

F.H.U.

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